THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 170 NEW YORK • SATURDAY • MARCH 4, 1950 NUMBER 9

The Shape of Things

ANALYZING THE FATE OF THE F. E. P. C. BILL requires no deep political insight. The Republican high command, as distinguished from a number of individual Republican Representatives, were in no sense eager for a fair-employment-practices law with powers of enforcement. They were very happy, however, to have an innocuous law to present to their constituents as a beginning, a first step on the road to a civil-rights program. At the same time, the Southern Democrats were all for emasculating the Administration's F. E. P. C. bill by supporting a watered down version up to the very moment of the final vote. The Republicans furnished the substitute in the form of Representative McConnell's bill to provide a commission which would investigate complaints and attempt to persuade employers not to practice discrimination in their hiring policies, but which would have no power whatever to enforce its recommendations. In short, as Representative Powell pointed out, it is "nothing but good advice." For their part the Southern Democrats nursed this toothless proposition along and filibustered away the legislative day until the House of Representatives found itself confronted with this shred of a bill or none at all. When it came to a vote, the bulk of the Republicans supported the McConnell bill. The Southerners, on the receiving end of the appeasement process, thumbed their noses at their appeasers and voted no almost to a man. And the Northern Democrats split wide open on the ancient question of whether to take what could be had or stand on principle.

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MANY GOOD LIBERALS TOOK THE VIEW, PUT forward by Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr., that passage of the McConnell bill would force the Senate to take action and keep the issue alive. Others complained, in Powell's words, that passage of the bill "takes the Republicans off the spot." It is in fact hard for us to see how liberal Democrats can be on record in favor of the bill and still tell the voters that it was a piece of Republican-Dixiecrat trickery. The final irony of the whole hollow procedure, however, is that the Senate Southerners have already announced their intention to filibuster the diluted House bill to death, just as surely as they planned to throttle a bill that might have meant something. When they do, the Republicans, you may be sure, will raise their hands in pious deprecation, and the burden of failure will be left to fall on the Administration.

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ROBERT VOGELER MAY HAVE BEEN A SPY. Like every nation, the United States has spies in other countries, with particular attention to the unfriendly ones, and Vogeler's business activity in Hungary would have provided an excellent cover. But justice is not determined by what *may* have been. Justice involves proof, and the legal methods employed in Hungary provide few of the safeguards against ex parte procedure and framed evidence that protect the defendant in democratic countries. For three months before he was brought to trial Vogeler was held incommunicado while the case against him was prepared by the government. The court assigned him counsel whose chief function was to ask for mercy rather than to defend his client. The government's case rested on Vogeler's "confession" read in open court, a statement so queer and unnatural as to make it wholly unconvincing. A captured American spy might well confess, especially if he were faced with evidence of his guilt, but he would let it go at that. He would have no reason to talk about "contriteness" or condemn himself for having been "sent from a big country, the United States, to a small country, Hungary," to undermine the work of reconstruction. It is possible, of course, that Vogeler was guilty of espionage and agreed to confess according to a prescribed formula in order to win a mild sentence. But even this would be treated in other countries as a shocking perversion of justice. Communists, here and abroad, complain bitterly about the legal persecution of leftists in America. While some of the complaints are justified, the conviction of Vogeler makes their propaganda sound rather flat. At least it can be said that if his trial had been conducted like that of Gubitchev, for instance, neither Vogeler nor the State Department would have just cause of complaint.

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The Nation, published weekly and copyright, 1949, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey St., New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas.
Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year $7; Two years $12; Three years $17. Additional postage per year; Foreign and Canadian $1.
Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new.
Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

IT IS BY NOW A TRUISM THAT THE LAW is what the Supreme Court says it is, but this very fact imposes on that body an obligation to be chary of capricious change in interpreting the Constitution. Its decision in the case of Albert J. Rabinowitz is alarming precisely because it contradicts earlier judicial interpretations of the Fourth Amendment without any apparent basis in changing social conditions. This is the case of a man convicted, first, of selling stamps which had been altered in order to increase their value to collectors, and, second, for having other such stamps in his possession. The second count was brought before the Supreme Court when the government protested its dismissal by a Circuit Court, which had ruled it out on the ground that the evidence had been seized without a search warrant. Justice Minton, expressing the majority opinion, found that "a limited search such as here conducted as incident to a lawful arrest was a reasonable search and therefore valid." The lawfulness of the arrest itself is not questioned, but the majority's casual surrender of one of the basic American guaranties is shocking. Given this precedent, as Justice Frankfurter suggested in a minority opinion, there is nothing to prevent police from using a simple arrest warrant, issued "for a minor trumped-up charge," as cover for the kind of unlawful search and seizure which the Fourth Amendment expressly forbids. The use to which the Minton opinion may be put in political cases, involving alleged "subversive" activity, may be left to the imagination. As Justice Frankfurter gratuitously but truthfully implied, we would not have had this dangerous decision if Justices Murphy and Rutledge had not been succeeded by Justices Minton and Clark, "giving fair ground for the belief that law is the expression of chance."

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NUMEROUS ARRESTS OF MONARCHISTS IN Spain bring new evidence that resistance to the fascist regime is spreading. To the former opposition groups are now added elements from the middle-class, industry, and finance, united in the belief that the continuance of Franco in power is bound to bring national disaster. Related to this, but even more significant, are signs of growing reluctance on the part of the church to continue its unconditional support of the regime. Though the Roman Catholic hierarchy still appears at all public celebrations side by side with the Falange, reliable stories from inside the country indicate incipient doubts, especially among the lower clergy. Going still farther, President José Antonio de Aquirre, a devout Catholic and head of the Basque government in exile, declared in Washington last week-end that the Vatican "does not consider the present Spanish regime as permanent" and "believes it dangerous to appear in agreement" with it. He requested all the Spanish bishops to turn their backs

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on the dictator. At the same time the army, faced with heavy cuts, shows new signs of uneasiness. Why, we wonder, should the State Department choose such a moment to send bouquets to Franco? It is not only the ill-inspired letter from Secretary Acheson to Senator Connally; more recently, a Spanish military mission has been taken on an official inspection tour of American military installations in Germany. Against this shocking and senseless proceeding the Nation Associates has protested in a telegram to Secretary Acheson.

Puppets and Patriots

STILL engaged in the unhappy task of liquidating its China policy, the State Department is hurrying to embroil itself in a repetition of that fiasco. By recognizing Bao Dai, the so-called "Emperor" of Viet Nam, and preparing to give financial and military aid to the French army that maintains him on his shaky throne, this country is insuring the continuance of a bitter civil-plus-colonial war in Indo-China. In spite of recent energetic attempts to depict Bao Dai as a real nationalist leader with a real popular following, most sober observers on the scene report that he can survive only if foreign, that is, American, aid keeps coming at an increased tempo. Otherwise Ho Chi Minh's rival government, which has survived five years of assault by well-armed French forces, will ultimately triumph. For it is Ho rather than Bao Dai who represents Indo-Chinese nationalism.

American recognition of Bao Dai was no doubt hastened by the action of Moscow and Peking in establishing relations with Ho. Once again Russia seized the initiative and maneuvered this country into a position which has become almost habitual, the position of giving support—moral, diplomatic, financial—to a regime whose only virtue is its anti-communism. As a consequence, we find ourselves committed to the fortunes of a creature of the colonial system we profess to deplore. Win or lose in Viet Nam, we have thereby suffered a defeat in the cold war.

No doubt our policy-makers think otherwise. In Washington Ho Chi Minh is regarded as an agent of Moscow whose success would open the way for communism's triumph throughout Southeast Asia. In this context Bao Dai automatically becomes the defender of "democracy" and "independent nationalism," even if it takes 125,000 French troops—including some thousands of German S. S. enlisted in the Foreign Legion—to sustain him in that role. And by the same token it becomes our duty to recognize him and help him survive. As the New York *Times* solemnly declares, "the real imperialism now is Russian, and the true puppet is not Bao Dai but Ho Chi Minh"—the same process of transubstantiation that is rapidly turning Franco into a defender of democracy.

Americans whose memories reach back even a few months will find the official version hard to swallow. Ho Chi Minh's earlier record was not that of a Russian puppet, and the fact that he took the initiative in opening diplomatic relations with Tito only the other day makes his orthodoxy questionable even now. Unless more complicated maneuvers behind the scenes account for his action, it would seem as if Ho were deliberately risking Russian displeasure by seeking recognition from the one Communist state which has defied the Cominform. However that may be, most newspapermen reporting from Southeast Asia agree that France could have made a satisfactory agreement with Ho if it had been willing to permit a truly independent government in Indo-China. By refusing to deal with the leftist leader it may have forfeited the chance of keeping his regime out of the Soviet orbit. At the very least it has shoved the Viet Nam issue into the center of the cold war; and this may well have been the intention.

As a result the support of Bao Dai has become an urgent item in American plans for containing communism in Asia. This is particularly unfortunate at a time when the able Dr. Jessup has been doing his utmost to persuade Asian leaders—above all, Prime Minister Nehru—of our sincere desire to advance the cause of nationalism in colonial areas. We gained some credit through our help in bringing the Dutch to terms with the Indonesians. We can easily lose it by bailing out French imperialism in Indo-China. Nehru for one is not likely to be convinced that peace and freedom will result from an all-out war, fought with American weapons and French troops, against Ho and his nationalist guerrillas.

Stalemate in Britain

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

SINCE the British elections ended, I have talked to a number of Englishmen in New York holding varying political opinions and have found no dissent from my own view that the results are deplorable. Conservatives, of course, rejoice in the increased parliamentary strength of Churchill's followers; Labor supporters seek consolation in the massive poll scored by their party. But both sides unite in regretting that at such a crucial stage in the fortunes of the democratic world Britain should be left without a stable government and so unable to make long-term decisions on many pressing problems, domestic and foreign. For several months already the shadow of the approaching elections has hung over Whitehall, and now action will be impeded, if not paralyzed, pending the new appeal

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to the voters which, all observers agree, cannot be postponed for more than a few months. The situation is all the worse because the chronic French political crisis threatens to become acute, and because the United States is clearly catching an unusually severe case of electionitis.

Mr. Attlee's decision to carry on his government as best he may will perhaps be censured by some of his followers; but I do not see what other course he could have taken. To throw up the sponge and advise the King to send for Mr. Churchill would be a gesture of irresponsible defeatism. The upshot would be either a new election immediately and an opportunity for the Tories to point to their opponents as the men who ran away, or a repetition of Gladstone's dubious experiment in 1885, when he permitted the Tory minority to assume office as a "caretaker government" rather than force an election.

To some in this country it appears that the proper remedy for the present impasse is a National Government representing all parties. But as Disraeli declared on the last occasion when the House of Commons was as evenly divided as it is now, "England does not love coalitions"; and the idea has been rejected by spokesmen for both major parties. Indeed, it is difficult to see how a compromise domestic program acceptable to both Tories and Labor could be negotiated.

This does not rule out some kind of gentlemen's agreement by which the Tories will refrain from trying to trip up the government for a limited period provided it does not introduce new controversial legislation. That would enable Attlee and his colleagues to concentrate on the passage of the Budget and other essential financial business and so be ready for another general election in June.

The inconclusive verdict of the polls was naturally a great disappointment to the Labor Party, which had entered the contest with high hopes of a reduced but still comfortable majority. However, I think the New York *Times* exaggerated a little on February 25 when it asserted editorially that "in Britain . . . the tide has swung back against socialism." The fact is that the British political tide proved to be of the Mediterranean variety. Labor's proportion of the total vote dropped only 1½ per cent, and it polled 13,218,000—1,250,000 more than in 1945—the largest vote ever secured by a British party. Moreover, we must not forget that the competitive attraction of Labor's wares in the political market has compelled the Tories to offer a very similar line of goods. In so far as an elaborately organized welfare state and full employment are Socialist objectives—and neither are attainable without considerable modification of the capitalist system—socialism has come to stay in Britain whichever party rules there.

Tory feelings about the election results are a mixture of pleasure and frustration. Their gains in terms of parliamentary seats were impressive, but they needed another forty or more to reach their goal—a firm working majority. Yet they fought under favorable circumstances. Since 1945 they had built up a lavishly financed and efficient political machine. As the opposition party they were in a position to exploit all the grievances which accumulate during any government's term of office, especially one grappling with circumstances as difficult as those Britain has faced since the war. They enjoyed the extremely effective leadership of Winston Churchill, who succeeded in keeping Labor on the defensive and avoided the mistakes in tactics he made in 1945. They could, and did, promise all things to all men—and women: full employment and fewer controls, more social security and lower taxes, more food, more gasoline, and more houses. But the bright moon of their program failed to attract anything like a tidal wave of support, and although, as Howard Smith reported in a CBS broadcast, their followers turned out "with blood in their eyes" and they polled their strength to the last invalid, they captured only 3.5 per cent more of the votes cast than in 1945. The Tories did succeed in retaking from Labor many of the suburban districts which had swung left in 1945. In the major industrial areas they made very little progress.

What were the British people trying to say when they poured forth in such vast numbers—practically 84 per cent of those eligible voted—to mark their ballot papers? They were not, I think, asking for a retreat from socialism, although they were perhaps indicating a desire for a pause before the advance in that direction was resumed. They rejected derisively both the Communists and their fellow-travelers, who suffered total defeat. Above all, it seems to me, they were insisting on a return to a two-party system by emphatically discouraging the ambitious effort of the Liberal Party to stage a come-back and ignoring the numerous splinter parties and independents.

In the event of another general election this summer will the British people return a more definite verdict? That would seem to depend very much on what happens to the two and a half million votes polled by the Liberal Party, whose support proved so scattered that it could obtain only 8 seats out of the 474 it contested.

Next Week in *The Nation*

Britain After the Election

by HOWARD K. SMITH in London

The Consequences for Europe

by ALEXANDER WERTH in Paris

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I assume it will not court another disaster on this scale but will concentrate on the few areas where the Liberal tradition lingers. In this case there will be a hundred or more constituencies in which Liberal voters without a candidate of their own will hold the balance of power. The Tory Party claims to be, in the words of the *Daily Telegraph*, "the only visible heir and assign" of the Liberal heritage and assumes that most of this comfortable legacy of votes would fall into its lap. A partial analysis of the returns that I have been able to make suggests they might be disappointed. In many constituencies the Liberal vote fell well below its 1945 level, and it appears that the deserters mostly voted Tory. It may be, therefore, that the Liberal Party has already shed a good many right-wing supporters and that a large proportion of the remainder, when forced to choose, will prefer Labor to their ancient foes, the Tories.

I hope this very tentative forecast proves correct, for it is clear that unless Labor does obtain support from the politically homeless Liberals it cannot hope to win the modicum of middle-class and rural districts which it needs to give it a stable majority. But perhaps the worst thing that could happen is a fairly even division of the Liberal vote, leading to yet another stalemate. That would be not merely deplorable but calamitous.

Loyalty in California: Sign or Resign

BY CAREY McWILLIAMS

NO RATIONAL person believes that one actually loves one's wife the better for swearing to love her. As for one's country, the frequency of revolutions in history indicates how little reliance can be placed on oaths of allegiance. For all that, the loyalty oath has cropped up again and again in our history; there is always a clamor for it when the ideological foundations of a society are threatened. Yet the real concern of those who are obsessed with the oath is not loyalty but heresy. They do not so much want an allegiance affirmed as a faith abjured.

On June 12, 1949, the regents of the University of California decided that all university employees must sign an oath including these words: "I do not believe in and am not a member of nor do I support any party or organization that believes in, advocates, or teaches the overthrow of the United States government by force or by an illegal or unconstitutional method." Two days later 500 of the 700 members of the university's Academic Senate, with only 4 dissenting votes, adopted a resolution requesting the regents to revise or delete that portion of the oath. Like all state employees, the faculty members had already taken an oath to support the Constitution; they did not object, therefore, to a constitutional oath as such.

Somewhat surprised by this show of independence, the regents met again on June 24 and formulated a substitute oath which runs: "I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will support the Constitution of the United States and the Constitution of the State of California, and that I will faithfully discharge the duties of my office according to the best of my ability; that I am not a member of the Communist Party or a party to any agreement or under any commitment that is in conflict with my obligations under this oath." Although not a part of the 1949-50 contracts, forms of the revised oath were inclosed with the contracts mailed out during the summer. The strategy was obviously to get as many faculty members as possible to return the executed oaths along with their contracts before the full faculty reassembled in the fall. It is not known how many signed the oath, but a large number, perhaps 50 per cent, refused to do so.

On September 19 the northern section of the Academic Senate voted overwhelmingly to reject the disavowal portion of the revised oath; only one dissenting vote was recorded. A few days later the southern section of the senate at Los Angeles adopted a similar resolution with equal enthusiasm. At a meeting on October 3 the regents declared that a generalized oath would not be acceptable.

A real impasse had therefore been reached. On October 10 the Academic Senate deferred action until its next meeting in order to allow more time for debate, but gave thundering ovations to those who spoke against the revised oath. Although the regents had accepted contracts which were returned without the oath, they shortly announced that the oath or its equivalent would have to be executed in 1950.

On February 24 the regents fulfilled their promise by ordering the professors to sign anti-Communist oaths within sixty-five days or lose their jobs. Professor Joel H. Hildebrand, dean of the College of Chemistry and a member of the Academic Senate, attacked the order as an "indignity" damaging to the school. His statement was fully indorsed by his colleagues on the senate. So the issue has once more been joined.

The oath of loyalty for the ordinary civilian first reappeared in the modern world in Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany. What purpose could such an oath have had in a police state? As Carl Friedrich has pointed out, it was to humiliate and destroy those who took it. There were plenty of men in the Italian and German universities who were known as independent thinkers, democrats, liberals. "If they could be forced into swearing their allegiance to the official creed," writes Friedrich,

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"they were morally discredited, they were known to be trimmers." This is part of the function of the University of California's loyalty oath. But its chief purpose is to stamp out heresy—the heresy of communism, socialism, of the welfare state, of liberalism, of anything and everything that challenges the security of those who drafted it. Heresy has been defined as "the obstinate adherence to opinions arbitrarily chosen in defiance of accepted ecclesiastical teaching and interpretation," and it is this which the oath aims to suppress.

The crux of the dispute is the specific disavowal required by the oath. The regents and most of the press hold that a general loyalty oath without a specific disavowal would have no meaning. The faculty insists that the disavowal substitutes a political test of competence for academic qualifications, that its requirement is insulting, and that the implied coercion is objectionable per se. What would the regents say, some professors ask, if the faculty were to devise a fancy oath containing a disavowal of fascism, and insist that the regents take it?

The issue at Berkeley is of enormous importance. It is not simply a matter of signing an absurd oath as the easiest way to placate the regents and the legislature. The freedom of men's minds is at stake.

Can Pepper Hold Florida?

BY WILLIAM G. CARLETON

Gainesville, Fla., February 24

FLORIDA'S spring primary, in which Senator Claude Pepper is a candidate for reelection, is the most important election in the South this year and one of the most important in the nation. The issues are taking shape in such a way as to make it a significant test of the Fair Deal. Every Southern politician is watching this primary to see how a prominent Southern politician who dared to back much of President Truman's civil-rights program fares with his electorate. The primary is also being watched for its possible effects on 1952. Senator Pepper's defeat would spur the Dixiecrats and those favoring an electoral alliance of Northern and Southern conservatives; a Pepper victory would give pause to Southern politicians now flirting with such a coalition.

The campaign is already under way, and it promises to be the most furiously fought in Florida's history. Pepper is opposed by the thirty-six-year-old Representative George Smathers of Miami, now serving his second term in the House. Smathers opened his campaign in January with a speech in Orlando in which he charged that Pepper was the leader of the country's radicals, closely linked with Communist front organizations, and that Northern radicals would spend huge sums in an effort to reelect him. A few days later he connected Pepper's name with those of Stalin, Wallace, and Paul Robeson.

In the contest now developing Smathers has certain advantages. He has youth and good looks. He has been in public life a relatively short time and has made few enemies. His position on many public questions is unknown. He has a good war record and has many friends among veterans. He is a fluent speaker and is adept at making political wisecracks. And he comes from Miami, which has always been a Pepper stronghold. When Pepper was last elected to the Senate, in 1944, he lost much of his home country in northern Florida and owed his election to his strength in southern Florida, particularly in Miami.

Florida is essentially a middle-class state. Organized labor is relatively weak. The American Federation of Labor and the Railroad Brotherhoods are much stronger than the C. I. O. The agriculture of central and southern Florida—cattle raising, truck farming, and citrus—is prosperous and generally conservative. The medical profession is well organized and is opposing Pepper because of his alleged fathering of "socialized medicine." Chambers of commerce are strong and well organized, the Junior Chambers of Commerce being probably stronger than in any other state in the country—Orlando boasts the biggest in the United States. Florida is the kind of state where candidates for public office can still win state elections by speaking before civic clubs and at chambers-of-commerce luncheons, and Representative Smathers makes a decided hit with such audiences. He is saying the things they want to hear. Moreover, his friends in his University of Florida days are now the coming "big shots" of local clubs and organizations, and they ardently believe in him. This is the sort of youthful and middle-class support which in other states has made possible the rise of leaders of the type of Eric Johnston or Harold E. Stassen.

The Smathers organization will have plenty of money to spend. The daily newspapers are overwhelmingly for Smathers. Even those which have not come out for him formally sometimes help him by their handling of the news. A number of them, led by the Tampa *Morning Tribune*, are making a systematic drive against the "wel-

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fare state." Many papers formerly friendly to Senator Pepper have deserted him, notably the Orlando *Morning Sentinel*, the chief newspaper of central Florida. The powerful Perry chain opposed Pepper in 1944 and will do so again this year. Indeed, Pepper will have the support of only three important dailies—the three genuinely liberal dailies of the state—the *News* and *Journal* of Daytona Beach and the St. Petersburg *Times*. In addition to the friends Smathers has gained among the Democrats, Florida's many Republicans, particularly strong in the St. Petersburg, Orlando, Palm Beach, and Miami areas, will enter the Democratic primaries in large numbers and vote for him.

Shrewd observers are saying that Pepper could have been about as liberal as he has been and still have found it relatively easy to be reelected except for his stand on two issues: for some time after the war he refused to believe the United States and Russia could not work together to build a peaceful world, which caused him to be put down by many as a Russophile; and he has supported much of the Truman civil-rights program. The latter, especially, has made him vulnerable in areas where otherwise he would be comparatively safe.

SENATOR PEPPER, too, brings to the campaign a host of advantages—first of all, his many-sided personality and great ability. An old-fashioned spellbinder, he can make a moving sentimental speech filled with popular uplift and evangelism. This is the eloquent Pepper. Or he can make a speech which concisely discusses the issues of the day. This is the forthright and clear-headed Pepper. In debate or in sparring with the press he can be a shrewd and cagy Pepper. Again, he is courageous. He dares take a position on deeply controversial issues—and each time his stand reveals intellectual consistency and a rounded philosophy of government. Because of the subtlety of his mind and the resiliency of his attitude people used to wonder about his sincerity, but now, even when they hate him, they concede his sincerity on large public questions. He has chosen the road of conflict, and he has been touched by every crisis and schism in the recent history of the Democratic Party. He might have been just another Southern Senator, serving term after term with virtually no opposition, but he has preferred the hazards of national leadership to provincial safety. And what is rare in a "thinking" politician, he is a practical go-getter, indefatigable in obtaining public benefits for his state and private favors for its citizens. This accounts for his hold on Florida business men, many of whom are still his supporters. In Florida people speak of Pepper's "secret weapon," meaning his file of some fifty thousand letters acknowledging favors.

Like other Southern states Florida puts great store by a Senator with seniority of service who will have a strategic position on important Senatorial committees. This will help Pepper. In addition, as a tourist state Florida knows the value of publicity and advertising, and many Floridians are proud of Pepper's national and international reputation. Never before has the state had so conspicuous a personage in public life, and many citizens are reluctant to retire a perennial headliner.

Seligson

Senator Pepper

Controlling the Democratic State Committee, Pepper will have organization support. For the past few months the committee has been sponsoring Jefferson-Jackson dinners at which Truman Administration stalwarts have appeared to laud Pepper. Among those who have spoken for him are Senator Murray of Montana, Secretary Tobin, Attorney General McGrath, and Vice-President Barkley. In addition, Pepper has the good-will of Governor Fuller Warren and his state administration. Warren's term has three years to run, and he still has many favors to confer or withhold.

In terms of organized group support Pepper will be strong. He will have the almost undivided backing of the A. F. of L., the Railroad Brotherhoods, and the C. I. O. Old-folks organizations and Townsend clubs, numerous in Florida, will be for him. He will make a strong appeal to the farmers of northern and western Florida, where price supports are popular and criticism of "deficit spending" and the "welfare state" is apt to be construed as an attack on them. In the main Pepper can count on the Jewish vote, large in the Miami area. He is himself a prominent Baptist, and Baptists are the strongest single denomination in Florida.

The size and disposition of the Negro vote is the most important single aspect of the current campaign. For the first time since the white primaries were outlawed, the Negro vote may be decisive in a state-wide election in the South. A few months ago political dopesters were speaking of 150,000 registered Negroes; now they have raised this to a possible 200,000. The Negro vote will be large in Jacksonville, Miami, and Tampa, and even in rural counties Negroes are being registered in sizable numbers. Just how much of this registered vote in the rural counties will actually get to the polls is another question. Some Smathers managers are talking of "deals" with Negro leaders, but the bulk of the Negro vote is expected to go to Pepper.

In spite of his support of the civil-rights program,

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Pepper leaders are claiming that the Senator will run better in northern and western Florida than he did in 1944. They point out that he has mended his political fences during the past six years, that crop supports are popular among producers of the agricultural staples of this area, and that Governor Warren has a strong following there. Pepper's supporters are also predicting that Representative Smathers will be handicapped in the Old South areas of Florida by his smooth dress and appearance, his Miami residence, his New Jersey family background, and the civic-club flavor of his speeches. Most important, Pepper forces point out that the defeat of Pepper would leave southern Florida with two Senators and northern Florida with none—a situation without precedent in the state's history. (In 1944 Pepper's opponent was a northern Florida Baptist.)

Smathers's indicated line of attack may react in Pepper's favor. What the Pepper forces feared most was an attempt to boost Smathers as a liberal Democrat, in general a supporter of the Truman Administration but not a "radical" like Pepper. Smathers's middle-of-the-road voting record in the House would have made this approach possible. But the Smathers management seems to have been persuaded by the Roosevelt-Truman haters to launch an attack on communism, socialism, and "statism." This promises to give the Smathers campaign a Republican-Dixiecrat coloration, and Florida is hardly a Republican or a Dixiecrat state. Indeed, the election returns of 1948 showed it to be very much a Truman state. On the other hand, the Smathers strategy may be soundly conceived. It may be that even a diluted Southern electorate like Florida will not tolerate a Senator who supports a federal Negro-rights program, even though it votes for a Democratic Presidential candidate with a stronger Negro-rights program.

An argument for the reelection of Pepper that is gaining momentum among rank-and-file voters, even among conservative voters, and that may prove more effective than any other used in his campaign runs something like this: "Senator Pepper is a supporter of President Truman and hence in a position to get Administration favors for Florida. Florida's other Senator, Spessard L. Holland, is not friendly to the Administration and cannot do for the state what Pepper does. So let's maintain the status quo—keep Holland in the Senate to voice our conservative sentiments and keep Pepper there to bring home the bacon."

THE current Florida primary campaign is evidence of the growing ideological split in the Southern electorate. The personal and irresponsible factional politics analyzed by V. O. Key in his recently published "Southern Politics" is gradually giving way to more clear-cut cleavages on public issues. Once before the one-party system of the South was capable of such a cleavage: at the turn of the century Populist and neo-Populist issues divided Southern voters rather sharply into liberal agrarians and conservatives. Then, as liberalism in the United States gradually changed from an agrarian to an industrial liberalism, it languished in the South, where industrialization was delayed. Southern politics became increasingly personal, factional, meaningless. But industrial liberalism is now striking roots in the South, and more and more the old agrarian liberalism is uniting with it to oppose the conservatives.

Indeed, today we may be witnessing not merely a revival of clear-cut divisions within the Democratic Party but the birth of a genuine two-party system in the South. Conservative professional and business men in the Smathers camp feel intensely about the issues involved, and should Smathers be defeated they would find it difficult to continue in the Democratic Party. Many of them, in the November election, might join the Republicans against Pepper. Professional politicians with conservative views are likely to make the break from the Democratic Party more slowly. But, increasingly, conservative Democrats and Dixiecrats who fail to hold or to win the Democratic organizations in their states will go over to the Republican Party.

LOOKING BACKWARD

Fifty Years Ago in "The Nation"

LITERARY NOTES: An historical account of the teaching of speech to the deaf, by Dr. Alexander Graham Bell, is begun in the *Association Review* for February. . . . Dodd, Mead & Co. publish directly Count Tolstoy's new novel, "Resurrection." . . . President Eliot's annual Harvard report is exceptionally stimulating reading. . . . The benefactions of the year 1898-99 to the University exceeded a million and a half, but 15 per cent of the great Edward Austin bequest, or $76,500, "went to pay the civil and military expenses of the United States Government"—thanks, perhaps, to the strenuous Harvard alumni, Roosevelt and Lodge, as much as to any two men that could be named. "The ill-considered legislation which produces such inexpedient results ought to be at once repealed," justly remarks President Eliot. . . . The woman question reappears in the application of a Bryn Mawr graduate to be admitted to the Law School. She was told that she might, via Radcliffe, take the course and the examinations, but neither be registered nor receive a degree; and it does not appear whether she was satisfied with the half-loaf. On the other hand, "Mrs. Williamina Paton Fleming was appointed Curator of Astronomical Photographs. . . . It is believed that Mrs. Fleming is the first woman who has held an official position in Harvard University."
—*March 1, 1900.*

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India: Barometer Wavering

BY SHIVA RAO

New Delhi, February 16

ONE of the most distressing aspects of life today in India is the number of people who honestly believe that Pakistan is making preparations for an attack on this country. Prime Minister Nehru recently invited Pakistan to make a joint declaration with India renouncing war as a method of settling differences between the two countries. After a considerable delay he received a half-hearted consent, hedged with the condition that all disputes should be settled by mediation or arbitration and that the decisions should be binding on both countries. This conditional acceptance aroused strong suspicions in India. Even Nehru—I say "even" because many of Nehru's followers do not hesitate to describe his attitude toward Pakistan as one of appeasement—has drawn the inference that Pakistan contemplates recourse to war under certain circumstances.

Parliament has been waiting since the proclamation of the republic on January 26 for the government's annual budget. In the meantime it has been chiefly occupied with the problem of India-Pakistan relations. President Rajendra Prasad, addressing the opening session, announced the government's intention to cut down defense expenditures, which at present take one-half of the total revenues. Members of the Congress Party, discussing the address, warned Nehru against economies which might weaken the country's ability to defend itself against aggression. For days the Indian press has been featuring the proceedings in the U. N. Security Council concerning Kashmir. Until a solution acceptable to both countries emerges—at Lake Success or elsewhere—there can be no hope for enduring friendship.

But while Kashmir is the biggest cause of friction between India and Pakistan, it is not the only one. All this week Parliament has been debating a bill to expel undesirable immigrants from Assam, the Indian province bordering on Burma and East Pakistan. Many complaints have been voiced about the government's lack of energy in tackling this problem. Assam is a comparatively small province and vulnerable for the reason that it is almost surrounded by Pakistan and has a substantial Moslem minority. For months there has been a steady influx of Moslems from the densely populated areas of East Pakistan into Assam's pleasant valleys, their number being estimated at about half a million already. The rank and file of the Congress Party contend that the penalty for those who shelter these illegal immigrants should include confiscation of their property. The refusal of Nehru's government to accept this proposal has caused widespread discontent.

While Moslems pour into Assam, Hindus are leaving East Pakistan for Bengal and especially for Calcutta, which is already crowded beyond capacity. These Hindu refugees are extremely bitter about their lot and ripe for Communist propaganda. The total number of immigrants is so large that India fears they will seriously complicate the problem of feeding the population out of the country's depleted food reserves. Assam has the added worry of suspecting a sinister design behind this planned infiltration of Moslems. In time its population may reveal a slight majority of Moslems over Hindus, and then, it is feared, there will be a demand for the transfer of Assam to Pakistan. Members of Parliament have pointed out that the late Ali Jinnah began his campaign for a separate Pakistan in Assam.

EVEN this does not complete the story of the troubled relations between the two countries. Large quantities of raw jute loaded on boats bound for Calcutta from East Pakistan were recently stopped en route because of a misunderstanding about prices. India retaliated by withholding coal supplies. These initial skirmishes should have demonstrated the ruinous nature of a trade war between two countries which nature intended to be economically interdependent: the plain fact is that India cannot do without Pakistan's raw cotton, jute, and surplus food, nor can Pakistan afford to buy its coal and cloth abroad, ignoring India's ability to supply these commodities. India, however, is busily increasing its acreage under cotton and jute cultivation so as eventually to become self-sufficient, and Pakistan has decided to import coal from France, Poland, Britain, and South Africa.

In one respect Pakistan cannot defiantly reject India's cooperation—it must take water from the tributaries of the Indus River for irrigation. Canals for this purpose were built by the British, and after partition, engineers of India and Pakistan reached a provisional agreement which guaranteed for the time being the release of adequate water for Pakistan. Statistics reveal that eleven million acres in West Pakistan use the irrigation facilities as against only three million acres in India. Since undivided India bore the burden of financing these

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enormous projects, India feels that the present allocation of water supplies is unfair and should be revised.

Accusations of broken agreements are increasing the strain. Last week one Indian minister, in answer to questions asked in Parliament, said that nearly nine hundred Hindu and Sikh shrines in Pakistan had been desecrated. Another charged that of twenty-eight Indo-Pakistan agreements, Pakistan had already violated twelve. Similar statements emanate from Pakistan about India's failure to redeem its promises. Pakistan's press is full of provocative stories the only meaning of which is that India is making preparations for an armed attack. Whenever trade and currency problems are discussed here, people ask, "Why didn't Pakistan devalue its rupee some months ago, when India and various other countries followed Britain's example?"

The dispute which evokes perhaps the greatest amount of heat among Indians is over the disposal of what is known as "evacuee property." After the large-scale massacres in both countries which followed partition, several million persons migrated—Hindus and Sikhs going to India and Moslems to Pakistan. The total number is estimated to exceed ten million. Both governments have been busy finding homes and employment for these refugees, and a number of new towns have sprung up to accommodate them. Thousands are still without adequate shelter, as I have seen for myself; mortality, especially among new-born children, is tragically high. A large number of Hindu and Sikh refugees left property behind—houses, estates, shops, factories, and so on. They were considerably more prosperous than the Moslems who left India, and their property is believed to be at least three times as valuable as Moslem property in India. Several attempts have been made in intergovernmental conferences to reach an equitable solution of the problem. Refugees from Pakistan contend that Nehru's government has not adopted sufficiently drastic methods to compel Pakistan to see reason.

These lowering clouds are occasionally broken by fitful streaks of sunshine. Recently India welcomed some hundreds of Moslem pilgrims from Pakistan to its well-known Moslem fair. Pakistan reciprocated by extending hospitality to Sikh pilgrims who went to worship at their ancient shrines. Such gestures, however, have no lasting effect. Last year I had the temerity to tell readers of *The Nation* that Indo-Pakistan relations were likely to become much worse before they improved. They are still, I fear, deteriorating. But hope can be found in Nehru, who despite provocation from Pakistan and strong pressure from his followers, repeats Gandhi's famous saying, "Don't view the world with bloodshot eyes."

Coal Without Shovels

BY LEONARD ENGEL

A NEW source of energy nearly comparable in magnitude to atomic fission is soon to be added to the world's fuel reserves. Ten months ago, in one of the coal fields that have made Birmingham, Alabama, the Pittsburgh of the South, engineers set fire to a twelve-hundred-acre seam of soft coal. The fire is converting the coal to fuel gas, much as commercial gas works do. Pipes bring the gas to the surface, where it may be burned in power plants to produce electricity, made into synthetic gasoline, or pumped into city gas mains. In short, coal is being sent to market without a mine or miners.

What is being done in Alabama presages tremendous social and economic changes. New jobs may have to be found for several million coal miners—half a million in the United States alone—but this is not a high price to pay for what is offered. Underground coal mining every year kills or cripples five thousand American miners, condemns innumerable communities to unspeakable squalor, pollutes needed water resources. Coal furnaces are chiefly responsible for the soot-laden air of our cities. These evils will be done away with by underground gasification, as the gas-mining scheme is called. The new process also holds out the prospect of cheaper power and may make possible low-cost gasoline from coal. Most important, it can be utilized to exploit coal deposits which have hitherto been classed as unrecoverable, and which may contain as much energy as the total world supply of uranium and thorium.

Four years ago the Bureau of Mines, concerned about the fact that the United States was becoming a net importer of petroleum, began to investigate synthetic liquid fuels. The Nazi war machine was known to have run on gasoline made from coal, but the German manufacturing processes were too costly. The bureau sought a cheaper way of producing "synthesis gas"—a coal gas which is one of the principal ingredients of synthetic gasoline. With quite another purpose in view—utilization of some of its low-grade coal deposits for the generation of electricity—the Alabama Power Company proposed to the bureau a joint study of underground gasification, which

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had been in use in Russia since before the war. The result was a small-scale preliminary test in 1947 followed by the current, much larger experiment, for which Alabama Power supplied the coal deposit and the Bureau of Mines the equipment and operating personnel.

THE burning seam of coal is beneath a hill near the tiny village of Gorgas in Alabama. The hilltop gives few signs that one of the greatest purposeful fires in history rages 150 feet below. Two thousand degrees of heat are effectively blanketed by the overlying earth. The ground is cool; trees and shrubs grow as usual. The rock immediately above the burning coal becomes plastic and swells, filling the void left as the coal is consumed and preventing any change in the earth's surface; a house above a seam as deep as this would be quite safe. Scattered about are small temporary buildings—a shed for air compressors, a laboratory to analyze the gases produced, a warehouse, a tiny office, a boiler which provides steam to quench the fire in an emergency or at the end of the experiment. Along the crest runs an air main as large around as a man's waist; every 300 feet a connecting vertical pipe goes into the earth.

Air is passed down to the coal bed through one of the vertical pipes. If the air supply were unlimited, the coal would be burned to carbon dioxide, which is incombustible and useless as fuel. The air flow is so manipulated, however, that the greater part of the coal is converted into carbon monoxide, an excellent fuel. The carbon monoxide—together with other gases distilled out of the coal and the nitrogen from the air—is returned to the surface through the next vertical pipe. In commercial gas plants a hotter gas is obtained by treating coal with steam as well as air, sometimes with steam and oxygen, and this will be done in future industrial underground-gasification installations. Air alone is used at Gorgas, at some sacrifice of gas quality, because it is desired to keep the process as simple as possible while the engineers study the basic problem of using the earth as a gas-making retort.

The idea of gasifying coal in the place where it is found goes back nearly a century. Its first proponents were Sir William Siemens, the inventor of the open-hearth steel furnace, and the great Russian chemist Mendeleev, but it attracted no attention until it was suggested anew just before the First World War by Sir William Ramsay, the British chemist, as a means of abating the smoke nuisance. A crusty Tory, Ramsay salted his proposal with a melodramatic warning to striking Welsh coal miners that the new technique would soon throw them out of work—then as now, a sure way to hit the front page. The miners were less impressed than an exile in Switzerland by the name of Lenin, who saw in the process a key to the rapid industrialization of a future Socialist Russia. Lenin not only wrote several articles on underground gasification for the clandestine Bolshevik newspaper *Pravda* but was personally responsible for the beginning of practical u. g. research in Russia after he came to power. This eventuated in field trials early in the thirties and the opening of several full-scale industrial installations in the Donetz basin by 1939. According to the cufrent Soviet Five-Year Plan, underground gasification is to supply 100,000,000 cubic feet of gas a day in 1950; this is 9 per cent of the manufactured-gas output of the United States.

DESCRIPTIONS of the Russian installations are too vague for us to proceed directly from Soviet experience. Besides, no two coal fields are alike. The experimenters in Alabama, like those in Belgium, Britain, France, and Italy, have therefore had to work things out for themselves. The principal problem is to maintain a smooth flow of gas of uniform quality, in spite of air leaks through porous layers of rock and blocking of the burning coal face by expansion of the roof rock. At the start of the Alabama test an early solution was not anticipated by either of the engineers in charge—James L. Elder of the Bureau of Mines and Milton H. Fies of Alabama Power. They have found, however, that leaks can be stopped by blowing in wet sand and that the effects of expansion of the roof rock can be overcome by manipulating the air pressure. The Alabama experiment is going even better than was expected in other important respects. It was originally believed, for example, that some tunneling would be needed to keep the fire going. But the way the coal is burning promises that even in underground gas works of the largest size a set of air compressors and a system of vertical boreholes reaching down to the coal bed at 100-foot intervals will suffice.

The first commercial underground-gasification installations in this country may be attached to plants for making synthetic gasoline, which u. g. should bring out of the laboratory and into the market place. Synthetic liquid fuels are made by two German processes which yield different products. In the Bergius process the cost of synthesis gas represents 50 per cent of the cost of the finished product, and in the Fischer-Tropsch process it represents 60 to 70 per cent. Synthetic-gasoline plants placed over u. g. fields would obtain synthesis gas for about one-fifth of what such gas would cost if produced in above-ground plants. This should cut the price of gasoline from coal by nearly one-half—enough to make synthetic gasoline as desirable as the natural product from the point of view of price as well as of efficiency, and to take the sting out of the developing United States petroleum deficit.

Underground gasification promises to save not only money but energy. With the best present methods we

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make effective use of no more than 25 per cent of the irreplaceable energy originally present in a coal deposit; the rest is wasted in pillars needed to support the mine roof, in inefficient furnaces, and so forth. A recent estimate by Fies, on the other hand, indicates that 31 to 37 per cent of the energy initially present could be turned into electricity by a power plant erected over a u. g. field and equipped with gas turbines to turn the generators—even though some energy is wasted in the gasification process itself.

Such a gain in efficiency would be equivalent to discovering new deposits of coal aggregating hundreds of billions of tons. Another, much larger new source of fuel can be tapped by using u. g. in fields which have hitherto been difficult to exploit. A sizable part of the coal reserve of the United Kingdom and the southern United States, for instance, consists of seams less than three feet thick; such deposits are expensive to mine because so much earth must be removed along with the coal. Other coals have so high a percentage of ash that they would generate more trouble than heat in a furnace; still others, the so-called low-grade coals like lignite, have physical characteristics and a low energy content which prohibit shipping them more than a few miles from the mine. The possibility of exploiting these several varieties of coal by gasification at least doubles the world's great resources of coal.

Of paramount importance, however, in my opinion, is what underground gasification can do to reduce the wholly unreasonable human and social price now paid for the energy of coal. The mining of coal can be limited to the comparatively small quantities needed as process material in the chemical and metallurgical industries. Virtually all requirements for power and heat can be met with gasified coal shipped to the consumer as electricity or smokeless, ashless fuel gas. Few American cities are so far from some kind of coal deposit as to rule this out. The problem of the displaced coal miner can be solved if it is given intelligent consideration in advance.

Bonn's Glittering Facade

BY CAROLUS

Bonn, February 18

WHILE Commissioner McCloy was in Washington painting a rosy picture of the West German Federal Republic for the American people, his French colleague, André François-Poncet, sent the following official note to Chancellor Adenauer:

> I have the honor to complain to you about the conduct of the federal Minister of Justice, Herr Dr. Thomas Dehler. . . . Recently, in a speech at Hamburg, Dr. Dehler attempted to refute the "legend of German aggression" in words which the German Press Agency reported as follows: "We have the right," he said, "to deny the thesis that Germany bears the major responsibility for the First World War. Germany's responsibility was not greater than that of France, which failed to curb the desire of Austria and Russia for war. It is time, too, to say that Germany was not alone responsible for the phenomenon of Hitler. Hitler was the end-result of the Versailles treaty, and above all of the craven behavior of France, which thought that the only solution of the European problem was to keep Germany from rising to power again, that security could be assured by barring the union of Austria and Bohemia with Germany."
>
> From a Cabinet minister these words were peculiarly shocking. Flagrantly twisting history, they placed the blame for the First World War on France, although it is a known fact that the French government made every effort, up to the very last minute, to prevent its outbreak. Going farther, Herr Dr. Dehler even tried to excuse Hitler at the expense of France. Such views used to be expressed only in the most nationalistic and openly anti-French circles. It is incredible that they should be put forward now by a member of a government which claims to be striving for a reconciliation between the French and German peoples. . . .

Dr. Adenauer's reply was that his Minister of Justice had been misunderstood. Dehler had not intended to attack France; on the contrary, he wanted to improve French-German relations. "I, personally," Adenauer wrote, "and also the federal government reject Dr. Dehler's views as these were reported by the German Press Agency."

Vice-Chancellor Blücher, who as a party associate of Dehler's had been present at his speech, went to Washington on February 6 on Dean Acheson's invitation. The day before he left he also was asked to retract words he had previously uttered. The yearly report of the Office of Marshall Plan Aid for Germany, published in January, had severely criticized the German government for spending American funds on unnecessary luxuries and for making no effort to cope with the problem of unemployment. Vice-Chancellor Blücher had thereupon declared—according, this time, to the Associated Press—that the report was not an official publication of the

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Hoffman office but "an exercise in composition of some gentlemen in the service of the Allies at Frankfurt." He was promptly set right by Robert H. Manes, Marshall Plan administrator for Germany, who said to him sharply, "Our report was no mere composition exercise. It is correct, and you know it." This incident, however, did not restrain Minister of Labor Storch, a political friend of Adenauer's, from asserting at a mass-meeting that the large amount of unemployment was the fault of the Western Allies. It was now McCloy's turn, and in a widely publicized speech made after his return from Washington he told of the concern in the United States over the growth of nationalism and neo-Nazism in Germany and roundly rebuked both the government and the people. At the end he became somewhat more optimistic and promised America's help in enrolling Germany as a useful and equal member of the Western family of nations.

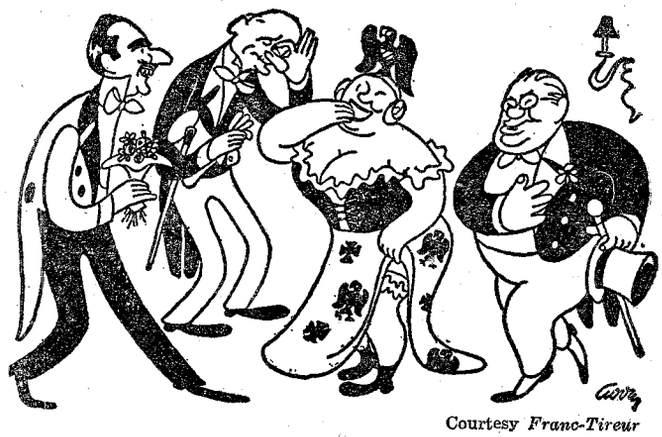
THE West German state has been in existence six months. It has had the conservative government which both McCloy and François-Poncet demanded and which they esteemed so highly until a few weeks ago. But in spite of the billions of dollars supplied by America and the good intentions on both sides, it has not fulfilled a single one of the hopes of its sponsors. Adenauer's government has been no more than a glittering façade, its impotence proved by every real test—a Chiang Kai-shek government—less a government than a collection of opposed interests laboriously brought together by the Western powers. The real masters of this government, the nationalists and the industrialists, have as little sympathy with the West as with the East but hesitate to break completely with either. Without ideals of any kind, they would form an alliance with the devil tomorrow if it promised them an advantage.

Where an ideology comes into play, it is a nihilistic one. The neo-Nazi associations which have sprung up like mushrooms declare that Germany is "not worth defending" as long as a foreign soldier remains on German soil, but meanwhile bluster and brawl for the boundaries of 1938. Dr. Adenauer, deriving his ideology from Washington, wants an authoritarian Catholic state as part of a supercapitalist Western Europe in which the magnates of the Ruhr and the Rhine, with American help, will soon make the English and French play second fiddle in Continental cartels. He is opposed by the Protestant ideology of Bishop Niemöller, head of the Council of Evangelical Churches, who asserts that the West German state was begot in Rome and Washington and that its existence is against the interests of the German nation.

The unemployed now number two million, not counting part-time workers. So far Adenauer has not raised a finger, and even McCloy is desperate. The rich buy Russian caviar, build villas, and have their clothes made of the finest English cloth; the industrial stocks they own are rising in value every day. Disabled veterans and war orphans are starving. All rationing has been abandoned. In his election campaign against the Labor Party Churchill remarks on how well off the Germans are: the shops in western Germany, in contrast to those in England, are overflowing with goods, because industry has not been nationalized and the Germans have remained true to the principles of free enterprise. "Capital formation" is the magic formula for the Adenauer government. More than five billion dollars have been invested in the German economy since the currency reform. Tax reductions have saved the rich nearly three hundred million dollars, while only a few crumbs have been tossed to the poor. Present economic, social, and political conditions make a mockery of democracy.

When they look upon their work in West Germany, no wonder McCloy and François-Poncet wring their hands. The government is in conflict with France over the industrial region of the Saar, which France has completely separated from Germany and made into a satellite state, letting down an iron curtain in front of it as impenetrable as that which cuts off Germany's eastern provinces. The 100 per cent German Saar is first to become an independent state and then to be annexed to France—with all the disastrous consequences that the creation of a new Alsace-Lorraine will entail.

In Berlin the American Colonel Babcock, now dead, took over a building situated in the western zone but under the jurisdiction of the Russian railway administration, and nearly precipitated a new blockade. On the third day General Taylor yielded to the Russian threats and hastily vacated the building. He felt obliged to apologize to his English and French colleagues; the gossip in Berlin and Bonn is that Colonel Babcock committed suicide. The situation is so precarious that one officer's ill-considered act could be the match put to the powder barrel. All western Germany trembled before the thunder in the east, and if the policy of the Western Allies does not always result in suicide, it is at any rate a great illusion.



Courtesy *Franc-Tireur*

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Del Vayo—Notes on Italy

EXPERT though he is in composing antagonisms and resolving impossible situations, Alcide de Gasperi is beginning to realize the difficulty of the task which confronts him in the coming months. Official American accounts paint a rosy picture of the results of the Marshall Plan, the decreasing effectiveness of strikes against it called by the Italian Federation of Labor, and the growth of other labor organizations which are sapping the strength of the Communist unions. But none of these optimistic reports can change the fact that De Gasperi's sixth Cabinet is considerably weaker than its predecessors.

Its weakness is attested by three developments: the withdrawal of the Liberals from the ministerial coalition—not numerically important, the Liberals nevertheless have considerable influence in the middle class and among intellectuals; the diminished role played by Saragat's right-wing Socialist Party since the followers of Romita and Silone split off and formed the Unitary Socialist Party; and the deepening schisms within De Gasperi's own party, whose left, grouped around Dossetti, is not represented in the present Cabinet.

A new swing to the right must now be expected. Just as was the case in France and Belgium, the influence of reactionary forces will be strengthened, and Socialists and the more progressive Christian Democrats, who want a radical agrarian reform and curbs on free enterprise, will be eliminated from the government to bring it into line with American policy. In spite of a sprinkling of Saragat Socialists in De Gasperi's sixth Cabinet—Saragat himself is not among them—it is clear that the Third Force has received its death notice in Italy as elsewhere.

On top of his other domestic worries De Gasperi faces the complete failure of his effort for agrarian reform. His present Cabinet seems in no hurry to proceed with the government's bill, which has been in the making for a year and a half. The Italian peasants, however, want no more delay and are beginning to seize the land. This spontaneous action by the peasants—initiated not in obedience to Communist or Socialist instructions but simply because the government's promises were taken seriously—is one of the most significant phenomena to be oberved in Italy today.

Under these conditions Togliatti need do no more than take advantage of the mistakes of his opponents to make a tactical advance. He certainly is not contemplating a revolutionary uprising, though such an intention is attributed to him by the conservative press, part of which would be delighted to see him lose his head.

In the field of foreign affairs De Gasperi has many problems on his hands. Count Sforza tried to exploit Bevin's lightning visit to Rome to overcome the strong anti-British feeling which had been aroused in Italy by the British position on the Italian colonies. Bevin showed himself conciliatory about the transfer of powers in Somaliland and the admission of Italian immigrants into Commonwealth territories in Africa; the latter is a burning question in Italy, where the number of unemployed has risen to three million. But Italian suspicions that London has been trying to make up for its loss of territory or prestige in Egypt, Palestine, India, and Burma by obtaining a foothold in Italy's former African colonies could hardly be allayed by a few concessions granted during a visit of twenty-four hours.

Another problem was created when Franco's Foreign Minister, Artajo, paid a visit to Rome—the Spanish question is still an explosive one, whatever Dean Acheson may say. Apparently forgetting for the moment that Artajo represented an ally of Mussolini, against whom De Gasperi had fought during the war, the Italian Prime Minister received him with a great show of friendship and held a secret conference with him in the south of Italy, about which nothing has been reported. Informed persons say that the combined suggestions of certain elements in the Vatican and of the American embassy induced De Gasperi to approve Artajo's visit, with the object of promoting the inclusion of Franco Spain in the Western European economic bloc and preparing the ground for its admission into the Atlantic Pact. Indignant anti-fascists in Rome threw stones at the Spanish embassy, and De Gasperi heard from several of his own ministers that they did not approve of the episode. After all, opposition to Franco, in an Italian, is a sign that he is innocent of any kind of retrospective sympathy for the Duce; it is not confined to Socialists and Communists. The scandal of a Rome-Madrid entente could not be approved by Pacciardi, who led the Garibaldi Battalion against Mussolini's soldiers in Spain during the civil war, by leaders of Saragat's right-wing Socialist Party, which at its last congress passed a strong anti-Franco resolution, and by other Cabinet ministers, including Prime Minister Sforza himself.

Regardless of the vicissitudes of politics, the cultural life of Italy, as reflected in the work of its novelists, the theater, the films, art, and literary and philosophical reviews, continues to be an example and encouragement for the rest of Europe. Remarkable work is also being done to restore the art objects damaged in the war. Among the works that have been salvaged are the famous triptych of the church at Cortona, a picture by Stefano di Giovanni (Sasetta), and another by Fra Angelico. The Sasetta is a magnificent example of the school of Siena. Beato Angelico, after his retirement to the convent at Fiesole, gave a never surpassed beauty and serenity to religious painting. In 1940 a priest, fearing that these treasures would be injured in the fighting, hid them in a cave. When discovered, five years later, they could scarcely be identified under their thick coating of mould. The celebrated tabernacle which Filippino Lippi painted on the walls of his own house at Prato, near Pistoia, was completely destroyed by aerial bombs in March, 1944. The pieces, however, were collected from the ruins, and the painting has been perfectly reconstructed on the basis of photographs. The celebrated frescos of Andrea Mantegna in the Church of the Eremiti in Padua were similarly shattered but have been restored.

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

RUSSIAN LITERATURE: THE GREAT CENTURY

BY ISAIAH BERLIN

II

WHAT was common to the writers who created the Russian literary tradition was their acceptance of the theory and practice of art as a vehicle for the expression of a vision of reality in the widest sense—by whatever means conveyed it most faithfully. The emphasis was therefore on the content, and inadequacy of form was condemned because it falsified or weakened the content and not because it transgressed against a rule or lacked some intrinsic quality as such. This is so, from the deliberate exaggerations of Tolstoy's "naive" theories of art to the most fiercely remote and hermetic among the pre-revolutionary symbolists or acmeists or "ego-futurists."

Hence the frontier between the educated private individual and the professional writer and critic was in fact narrower than in the West, nor was it guarded with so jealous a sense of the importance of métier. The tradition of the learned dilettante persisted side by side with the development of academic and technical writing; learning was valued, but, more than learning, the power of conveying a first-hand experience—the sense of being face to face with the object, with no mediating theories or modes of interpretation.

The freshness, directness, and authenticity of the best Russian criticism is as unique as that of the poets and novelists. Belinsky and Pissarev speak about literature, Oulybyshev and Stassov about music, with a degree of spontaneity, relevance, seriousness, and life not found in far more clever, better-informed, and indeed profounder critics; their gusto is not solemn, or abstract, or philosophically inflated, or trivial, or tedious: they possess a natural sense of what is important and central, and a remarkable combination of responsiveness and a boundless inner vitality and power of expression beside which other traditions of critical writing, however original or illuminating or wise, at times seem a little stuffy and *voulu*.

OF THIS GREAT and civilized tradition Prince D. S. Mirsky was, a quarter of a century ago, the most brilliant and fascinating representative in exile. He was in no sense a careful academic writer. His two celebrated books* on Russian literature, which between them covered the entire range of the subject, were, like his essays on Dante and Western literature in general, anything but impersonal. "Scientific criticism," the attempt to apply to literature a system of principles, drawn from some other field, whether aesthetic, psychological, moral, or derived from some particular sociological or political doctrine, was alien to his sharply perceptive, undisciplined, imaginative, exuberantly overflowing nature. In the late twenties he went through a spiritual crisis and became a fervent and even fanatical Marxist; he abandoned literary criticism, wrote a panegyric to Lenin—as being, among other things, a great prose writer—wrote the history of Russia conceived on the pattern of what was at the time of his conversion still the orthodox anti-individualist doctrine, returned to Russia to find that he had misjudged his moment, and found himself condemned for the heresy of being a follower of the then recently discredited Marxist historian, Pokrovsky.

In 1939 or 1940 Mirsky disappeared from view and was not heard of again in the West. There were, and are, many rumors about his fate. It is said that he died of disease; and again that he was politically "liquidated," or that he was destroyed by a combination of both factors. In 1945 a rumor circulated in the foreign colony in Moscow that he was living in obscurity, according to some in Moscow, according to others in Central Asia. All that is certain is that, like Botticelli, he committed artistic suicide before he physically ceased to exist, and like the painter did so as the result of an acute crisis at the height of his creative powers.

His histories of literature were, however, composed while he was living abroad, before his conversion. They lack depth of genius but possess learning, elegance, wit, intellectual gaiety, and an incomparable style and sweep and power of communicating impressions and ideas with which no work on the subject in our own day can begin to compete. His judgments are often highly idiosyncratic: like the anti-materialists who dominated his youth he goes too far in damning the radical critics of the nineteenth century for confusing social and artistic criticism, for narrow moral and social priggishness, shapelessness, and verbosity. His tirades against the worthless are magnificent. Thus he attacks Merejkovsky for being an author possibly not without gifts as a popular novelist but a bad writer and, above all, repulsively false; this he does in a language with a debased form of which recent Soviet criticism has made us all too familiar. Or again he suddenly praises the letters of Vladimir Solovyov as being inferior only to those of Pushkin, for reasons not easy to grasp, and is liable at all moments to enunciate personal judgments with a reckless directness reminiscent of the early Shaw. But with all this his judgments are usually sharp, original, and to the point, and possess a combination of vigor and fastidious taste which may be taken in by the odd, the remote, the non-existent, but not by the second-rate; it may overlook the obvious, and enlarge splendidly upon imaginary virtues and vices, but

*"A History of Russian Literature" and "Contemporary Russian Literature." The texts of both books, edited and abridged by Francis J. Whitfield, were recently published in one volume under the title "A History of Russian Literature" (Knopf, $5).

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HOW
a free country stays that way

IN 1754 Benjamin Franklin wrote, 'I look upon the colonies as so many countries gained to Great Britain.' In 1776 he signed the Declaration of Independence, thereby exercising a prerogative that has ever since been part of our political heritage—that of changing one's mind.

¶ Where minds are flexible and open to change, there is always room for argument—often bitter. In the seventeenth century, as in the twentieth, there were those who averred with Nathaniel Ward: 'He that is willing to tolerate any unsound opinion that his own may be tolerated hangs God's Bible at the Devil's Girdle'; and there were those who replied with Roger Williams, 'God's people were and ought to be nonconformists.'

¶ Ours is a nation where the doers have also been the thinkers, from Jefferson and Hamilton to Franklin Roosevelt and William O. Douglas; but where, now and then, a solitary, a Thoreau, Veblen, or Bourne, has tapped an underground stream of national feeling. A complete portrait of America would capture, too, the occasional glint of ridicule in the subject's eyes; H. L. Mencken finding democracy 'incomparably idiotic,' or Finley Peter Dunne's irrepressible Mr. Dooley observing, 'Do good be stealth, says I, but see that th' burglar-alarm is set. Anny bennivolent money I hand out I want to talk about me. Him that giveth to th' poor, they say, lindeth to th' Lord; but in these days we look f'r quick returns on our invistments.'

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recoils instinctively and very violently from the commonplace, the insipid, the drab, and the false.

THE LANGUAGE in which Mirsky expressed himself in what was to him the foreign medium of English is a highly individual and uncompromising instrument, and succeeds in conveying the wonderful freshness of the still unexhausted Russian language itself, in which he must often have thought while composing; the metaphors and similes and analogies are sometimes of a dazzling virtuosity, like the conversation of an inspired talker. Like all Russians he was moved to his greatest heights by Pushkin, on whom he had written a monograph—his English at such moments is wielded with a vitality and an originality as well as an astonishing skill to which only Vladimir Nabokov offers a parallel. In his book on contemporary Russian writers he spoke mainly of writers whom he knew well personally, and his opinions possessed the authenticity derived from personal relationships. His observations about such writers as Ivanov, Balmont and Blok, Annensky and Gumilyov, Pasternak and Tsvetaeva, Mayakovsky, Akhmatova, and Mandelstamm, are more interesting than anything else of the kind written in English.

The reader must not misunderstand me: Mirsky's books are exhilarating works of criticism, not textbooks; a great deal is omitted; the account of the Kiev and later medieval periods is sketchy to a degree; whatever annoyed or bored the author was left out or dismissed with a string of casual epithets delivered with a typical *beau monde* breeziness. For solid pabulum there exist more reliable books in English, easily obtainable in American editions; but Mirsky's book will be read long after these excellent works are safely established on the reference shelves of libraries, for unlike them it comes near to being itself a literary masterpiece.

Despite the omission of such unique examples of Mirsky's "reportage" as his "interchapter" on the Russian literary scene in November, 1917, impressionist but brilliant paralipomena—regrettable in spite of the nearly, but only nearly, convincing reasons given by the editor, the new edition is a long overdue memorial to the last critical writer of a golden age. The form of education which made possible the world to which he belonged is dead and gone; the *douceur de vivre* which permeated it, founded though it was on intolerable social injustice, speaks in every line of Mirsky's prose. He lived in one of those critical "inter-chapters" between two violently conflicting ages, when for a brief instant there occurs a blend of the civilized outlook of a dying aristocratic culture with radical political beliefs; of great refinement of taste and style with the conscience and rebelliousnss of a new, more egalitarian age. Like Henri de St. Simon and Alexander Herzen, like Prince Kropotkin and Bertrand Russell, like Justice Holmes and Franklin Roosevelt, Mirsky was a unique compound of inner freedom, imagination, charm, and an acute and fearless intelligence, only born at such moments, when the old is not yet dead and the new not yet in being, when there is a détente between the generations, *chargé du passé et gros de l'avenir*. Professor Whitfield has rendered a genuine service in reediting this text, even with the excisions which the publishers have exacted. He has revised facts and dates about which Mirsky is liable to be inaccurate; and his own final chapter, in which he attempts to bring up to date the facts about living Soviet writers, admirably tentative and noncommittal in the absence of dependable information, is exceedingly useful.

[*The first part of this essay appeared in the issue of February 25.*]

Justice Frankfurter's Role

THE CONSTITUTIONAL WORLD OF MR. JUSTICE FRANKFURTER. Selected and Edited by Samuel J. Konefsky. The Macmillan Company. $4.50.

PROFESSOR KONEFSKY has, in this book, grouped under six heads forty-four opinions of Justice Frankfurter. Each opinion is preceded by a brief statement of the issues involved in the case and of the position of the other members of the Supreme Court. The introduction includes editorial comments on the Justice's nomination to the bench, a few extracts from recent articles

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about the Supreme Court with special reference to Justice Frankfurter's role, a short editorial explanation of the purpose of the book, and a brief biographical sketch. Despite an occasional lapse—as when he speaks of the second Williams case as "another action" (p. 108)—Professor Konefsky has done his part excellently. One regrets only that he left out the citations in the opinions, since to a considerable extent these illumine Justice Frankfurter's own juristic style.

The reader's chief interest in a book such as this lies of course in the opinions themselves and the light they throw on their author. Whatever else may be uncertain about Justice Frankfurter's position on constitutional issues, one thing shines out: he has consistently been an advocate of the doctrine of judicial self-restraint, which Justices Holmes and Brandeis—and later Justices Stone and Cardozo—had so often stressed. He maintains that this self-restraint must guide the court in all fields of its jurisdiction and "not merely in the domain of economics" (p. 189). His most personal and eloquent statement of this position, here reprinted, was his refusal, in the second flag-salute case, to join the majority of the court when it repudiated his own earlier opinion holding that a requirement that school children salute the flag did not offend the Constitution, On the latter occasion he said:

> One who belongs to the most vilified and persecuted minority in history is not likely to be insensible to the freedom guaranteed by our Constitution. Were my purely personal attitude relevant I should wholeheartedly associate myself with the general libertarian views in the Court's opinion, representing as they do the thought and action of a lifetime. But as judges we are neither Jew nor Gentile, neither Catholic nor agnostic. We owe equal attachment to the Constitution and are equally bound by our judicial obligations whether we derive our citizenship from the earliest or the latest immigrants to these shores. As a member of this Court I am not justified in writing my private notions of policy into the Constitution, no matter how deeply I may cherish them or how mischievous I may deem their disregard. The duty of a judge who must decide which of two claims before the court shall prevail, that of a state to enact and enforce laws within its general competence or that of an individual to refuse obedience because of the demands of his conscience, is not that of the ordinary person. It can never be emphasized too much that one's own opinion about the wisdom or evil of a law should be excluded altogether when one is doing one's duty on the bench. The only opinion of our own even looking in that direction that is material is our opinion whether legislators could in reason have enacted such a law.

In appraising the significance of these views of the Justice it must be borne in mind that the climate of opinion today differs from that when Holmes and his co-dissenters originally expounded their views. They were applauded by liberals because they had opposed the then current trend of the court when it struck down social-reform legislation as violating the due-process guaranty of the Constitution. (One of the concurring opinions here reprinted discusses these problems, pp. 60-68.) Today no such trend exists.

Criticisms of Justice Frankfurter's judicial self-restraint by writers like Rodell and Hamilton (as quoted in the Introduction, XIV, XV) derive from the fact that he has adhered to this doctrine in the field of civil liberties as well as that of social legislation. There

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is force in the belief, implicit in these criticisms, that a judge should view legislation restrictive of personal freedom with a more jaundiced eye than that with which he views legislation restrictive of property rights. Did not Stone lay down the axiom that the ordinary presumption of constitutionality is absent in civil-liberties cases? Of course the problem cannot always be posed merely in terms of restrictions on liberty. Questions often arise of balancing claims of different freedoms.

In any case it is not accurate to speak of Justice Frankfurter as the leader of the conservative wing of the court. It is true he did not join the Black, Murphy, Douglas, and Rutledge group which for a number of years took a strong libertarian position, frequently of course in dissent. Yet Justice Frankfurter joined this group more often than did any of the other justices to produce a majority decision on the side of liberty. Twice this took place at the 1947 term (one of these occasions is here reproduced, pp. 247-252) and five times at the 1948 term. None of these cases, to be sure, involved the validity of legislation. They dealt with confessions, search and seizure, and the like.

It is interesting to note that in all the federal cases on the subject of searches and seizures on which the court was split, Justice Frankfurter, usually joined by Justice Jackson, has consistently been on the side of the angels (as in the Harris case, pp. 219-232), while Justices Black and Douglas were often not. When, however, the problem recently arose as to whether the rule which bans the use by federal courts of evidence obtained through an illegal search should be carried over to state courts, both Justices Frankfurter and Jackson helped make a majority favoring the view that state courts were free to accept whatever evidence they pleased. Indeed, Justice Frankfurter went so far as to intimate that Congress could repeal the federal rule, a view which brought a sharp protest from Justices Murphy and Rutledge.

One of the interesting aspects of Justice Frankfurter's relation to the court shows in the number of times he has written special concurring opinions. Such was the case in nine of the forty-four opinions here reprinted. Sometimes the reasons for these special concurrences appear in the prefatory note; in others it is rather difficult to determine what the reason was.

Justice Frankfurter's penchant for expressing an individual point of view stands out most clearly, perhaps, in the opinion he handed down on January 9 of this year in the case involving the so-called gag rules on radio which a Maryland lower court imposed, and which the highest court of that state held unconstitutional. Justice Frankfurter felt it desirable to write an opinion explaining that the Supreme Court, when it refuses to review a decision, is not expressing any opinion of its own on the merits of the case. Heretofore the court has been rather cryptic in its pronouncements on this somewhat recondite subject. And in elaborating the reasons which prompt the granting or the refusal of certiorari Justice Frankfurter performed a very useful service. His opinion, however, goes beyond this explanation and discusses elements involved in the merits of the case itself. While he announces no conclusions, one gathers that, as in earlier cases—for example, in his dissent in the Bridges contempt case (pp. 142-154)—he would prefer yielding freedom of comment about a pending case to preserving the freedom of the judiciary from outside pressure.

Yet prophecy remains a risky venture, especially in the law. Enlightening as the past may be, we must await the record of the future before Justice Frankfurter's role can be fully appraised. Perhaps it will yet surprise us.

OSMOND K. FRAENKEL

Stendhal, Advance Guard

MEMOIRS OF EGOTISM. By Stendhal. Translated from the French by Hannah and Matthew Josephson. Edited with an Introduction and Notes by Matthew Josephson. Lear. Distributed by Crown Publishers. $3.

THE reader who from the heights of modern psychology looks down patronizingly at these confessions will be not unlike the aviator who reads of Napoleon's campaigns and exclaims: "But I could have cleared all that up with one bomb!" Courage and art must be seen not only in the perspective of history but in the perspective of their continuing rarity; the true

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hero cannot be machine-tooled. Stendhal's quaintly titled volume—the word "egotism" was new in his day and closer to "self-examination" than to "vanity"—is a truly heroic and, to the best of his powers, scientific study of the wellsprings of his character. It is quite possibly entitled to a place on the same shelf with the confessions of Rousseau and St. Augustine as one of the very best examples of this kind of literature that mankind has produced. And it may be more readable today than either of those.

Stendhal had little desire to deceive himself when he sat down in the summer of 1832 at Cività Vecchia, where he served as the French Consul, and obliged himself to write thirty pages a day about himself as he had been in 1821. He had well-established habits of introspection and literary craftsmanship. He was forty-nine, lonely, unmarried, childless, and, although he had written "The Red and the Black," a failure. He had resigned himself to writing for posterity and to living on the outskirts of the great world of which he was intellectually so well equipped to be a leader. When classicism had been in vogue he had been a romantic; when romanticism succeeded, its wooliness had disgusted him, and he had become a precise, ironic classicist. He had made every mistake. The women he loved had been allowed to escape, or been expelled, from a life that was much more monastic—though by no means ascetic—than it seemed. All his misfortunes had come from his enslavement to psychological insight, and now that same master-passion bade him sit down and try to see himself as he really was, to make his peace with his destiny.

What we get is Julien Sorel, the hero of "The Red and the Black," who seems so close to him in temperament, on a horsehair couch. Julien did not allow himself, so romantically and so neurotically, to be executed at the end of the novel; instead, he yielded to the constituted authorities—and the women in his life—and consented to go on living. He did not have a brilliant career, but it was better than a martyr's grave. And now he is looking back on it and telling us why he was impotent with a certain prostitute on such and such a night, why he was cold toward some of his best friends, why he did not bring the English girl back with him to Paris (fear of responsibility), why he always fell athwart the powers that be.

The resulting self-portrait seems entirely honest; indeed, if anything, it gives too negative a view of its subject; and yet it is not without a buried element of self-dramatization. That is what may win readers for it today. For the fact that Stendhal began to come into his own some half-century after his death, that he won the readers who were denied him in his lifetime, is not entirely due to his literary excellence. Other masterpieces of his day still go begging. Considerable book sales always mean that readers have found a way to identify themselves emotionally with an author or a character. Stendhal has a sizable public today because he appeals particularly to a type of reader that has been produced in some quantities by our later civilization: the uprooted intellectual who feels at odds with his environment and seeks animal warmth—and a sense of "belonging"—in one kind of advance guard or other. This reader finds more of himself in uprooted heroes like Julien Sorel or, to mention a modern parallel, Joyce's Stephen Dedalus than in Balzac's Eugène de Rastignac, who prosaically conquers Paris, or Flaubert's Frédéric Moreau, who is merely the recipient of a "sentimental education." Thus Stendhal's popularity nowadays rivals that of Balzac, who once had to plead for him, and Flaubert's best book goes almost unread, while his "Madame Bovary" outsells all other novels because so many women can identify themselves with its heroine.

Even while accusing himself of every weakness, in a confession that he purposely left unrevised, Stendhal knows how to enlist the sympathy of "the happy few" who in every generation feel at war with mediocrity. There was still something boyishly rebellious about him while he went about the grim task of preparing himself for age, death, and oblivion. Nature and history had selected him for the advance guard of the advance guard.

It was not until 1892 that these memoirs were published in France, and it has taken them just about as long again to reach these shores. Let us hope that the other volume of them, which

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GERALD SYKES

Records

B. H. HAGGIN

ON LONDON 78 r. p. m. records (LA-129, 3 12") Beethoven's Quartet Opus 95 is played by the Griller Quartet. This is music for which the group's vigorously dramatic style—but not its occasional fussing with tempo and phrasing—is more suitable than Mozart. The violins sound veiled; and on sides 4 and 6 the over-all sound is dull.

On an Allegro LP (AL-26) are Mozart's Quartets K.387 and 428 played by the Loewenguth Quartet. The performance of K.387 is quite good, except for a few instances of faulty pitch and the first violin's sharp—or sharply recorded—tone in loud passages. The playing in K.428 is technically and musically less finished, and both lifeless and fussy in the finale; and in addition to the occasional faulty pitch there is off-center wavering in my copy. Surfaces are a little noisy.

Allegro also offers Beethoven's Trios Opus 1 No. 1 and Opus 11 played by the Alma Trio (AL-34). In Opus 1 No. 1 it is only in the variations of the finale that I find Beethoven's mind interestingly active; in Opus 11 a conventional first movement is followed by three others which are fresher and engaging. The performances are excellent; the piano sound is dull; on the Opus 11 side there is slight off-center wavering; surfaces are a little noisy.

The entire set of Schumann's "Fantasiestücke" Opus 12 has been recorded for RCA Victor by Rubinstein (DM-1335, 3 12"). The pieces are very fine; and Rubinstein plays most of them well—my reservations being concerned with the lack of tranquillity in "Des Abends," the excessive rubato in "Aufschwung" and "In der Nacht," the tenseness of "Ende vom Lied." The shallow, clangy piano sound may be the actual sound of Rubinstein's piano; surfaces are noisy.

On a Victor single (12-1050) some excellent piano-playing by William Schatzkamer is wasted on Scriabine's Sonata No. 4

On LP Allegro offers Bach's Partitas in B flat and C minor played by Rosalyn Tureck (AL-18). I like the first of these works, but not the way it is played—the fast portions over-muscular, the slow ones without continuity. The Sarabande of the B-flat is reproduced lower in pitch than the rest; the piano sound is dull.

Allegro also offers (AL-20) Mozart's last Piano Sonata, K.576, one of the best, with some of his most developed writing for the keyboard, the small-scale Fantasia in D minor, and the Variations K.613, fluent and pleasant music which becomes impressive and powerful with the change to minor mode and in the slow variation which follows. In general Hortense Monath's playing outlines phrases effectively but is unsteady in pace; in the slow movement of the sonata there is actual inaccuracy in time-values, in other movements some unclear passage-work; in the Fantasia the playing lacks force and the closing section is much too fast. The piano sound is good, but is distorted near the center of the record.

From Columbia (ML-2086) there are Debussy's "Estampes," comprising "Pagodes," which I find uninteresting, and two of his best pieces, "Soirée dans Grenade" and "Jardins sous la pluie"; and the earlier "Pour le piano," of which the Prelude and Toccata are engaging, but the Sarabande is oversweet in Debussy's early manner. Except for occasional rubato of the wrong kind Arrau's playing is good in most of the pieces; in "Soirée" the rubato is excessive. In this piece there is also poor balance of treble and bass in the recorded sound; and in "Jardins" there is distortion; but the sound of "Pour le piano" is about the best Columbia has achieved—well-balanced, clear, lifelike, and lacking only the warmth and luster that Victor gets.

I heard the English pianist Solomon at the Y. M. H. A.; and throughout the Bach fugue and Beethoven and Chopin sonatas he seemed—from the expression on his uplifted, smiling face—to be saying to himself: "Is it really I who am producing these amazingly beautiful sounds?" And the performances sounded as though he were thinking of nothing else: they never lapsed from good taste in their completely conventional styles.

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GERALD SYKES has contributed to various publications, including *Partisan Review*, *Hound and Horn*, and the *New Republic*.

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